14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

into wooden forms, intermediate between masks and helmets, imitating heads of ferocious beasts like tigers, lions, wolves, also snakes, and covered with the skins of these animals.[61] The principal captains and war-chiefs were distinguished by their wide and long mantles,[62] by the cut and tress of their hair,[63] and by towering bushes of green feathers on the so-called "helmets" protecting the head.[64]

"It was ordained that the King and his coadjutor, Tlacaelel, should alone wear shoes "in the royal house, and that none of the great chiefs might enter the palace with shoes "on, under penalty of death; and they alone could wear shoes in the city, except those "who had distinguished themselves in war, which for their merit, and in token of their "bravery, were permitted to wear light and common sandals, because the gilded and "painted ones belonged to the great chiefs alone." We would suggest that the "cactli" or "cotaras" were half-moccasins, similar to slippers. It is not devoid of interest to notice here, that even the wearing of these articles depended upon actual merit and reputation *achieved in war*, and not upon wealth or inheritance. War was, indeed, "the life of the tribe."

[61] Anonymous Conqueror (Col. de Doc., I, p. 373). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Drawings are found in Clavigero, in the Mendoza Codex, as published by Lord Kingsborough, and in the frontispiece to the 2d Decade of Herrera (Vol. I). It may be that the honorific titles of "daring lions, tigers, and eagles," which have greatly contributed to the supposition of the existence of "military orders," or "orders of chivalry," were based upon the wearing of such costumes by the braves. As already stated, not all the warriors carried such masks or helmets, but our data are too imperfect to enable us to state positively the class or standing of those who wore them.

[62] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215). "Tambien se determinó que solo el rey pudiese traer "las mantas galanas de labores y pinturas de algodon y hilo de diversas colores y plu-"mèria, doradas y labradas con diuersas labores y pinturas y diferencialias quando á "él le paréciese, sin aver excepcion en traer y usar las mantas quel quisiese; y los "grandes señores, que eran hasta doce, las mantas de tal y tal labor y hechura, y los "de menos valia, como uviese hecha tal ó tal valencia ó hançaña, otras diferentes; los "soldados, de otra menor labor y hechura, no pudiendo usar de otra preciosa labor ni "diferencia, mas de aquella que alli se le señalaba con sus cañidores y bragueros, que "alndian y seguian la hechura de la manta que le era permitida. Toda la demas gente, "so pena de la vida, salió determinado que ninguno usase de algodon ni se pusiese "otra manta sino de neguen, y questas mantas no pasasen mas de quantos cubriesen la "rodilla, y si alguno la trujese que llegase á la garganta del pié, fue-e muerto, saluo si "no tuviese alguna sennal en las piernas de herida que en la guerra le uviesen dado, " . . . .") Also Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 58). Here again we find the kind and cut of the mantle, its ornaments determined by the warlike achievements of its bearer.

[63] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57). Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères," Vol. I, p. 348). The figure of the Atlas in folio is taken from the Codex Anonymous of the Vatican. Says the Anonymous Conqueror: "To him who distinguished himself in war "they made a mark in the hair, that his prowess might be recognized and seen at once, "since they never wore the head covered" (p. 371). Braids or tresses of hair as well as of leather, were sometimes given as presents, and worn. Tezozomoc mentions them frequently, under different names.

[64] The head-dress, or "divisa."—"tlauiztli," or "quetzalpatzactli," is represented on nearly every Mexican painting or picture-leaf. It is also represented on the stone of sacrifice, as adorning the victorious warrior of each group. Its size is generally exaggerated. Gomara (p. 222, Vedia, I) includes in his list of objects sent by Cortés to the Emperor: "a helmet of wood, gold-plated, with jewels in front or outside, and twenty-"five little golden bells, and its crest of a green bird, whose eyes, beak, and feet were

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

175 proving the opportunity to advance further towards them.
726 Meanwhile, hunger was looming up in their midst, engendering pestilence. Their bodies were weakening day by day, there were no means of subsistence left, the women and children wandered about like living corpses, without fear of Cortés' ruthless Indian
645 allies. Still the tribe did not submit, and when, twice, the war-chiefs represented the futility of future defence, the "chief council," as supreme authority, sternly declared: "that it was better to die "fighting, than to remain in the power of those who would en-"slave and torture them."[212] At last, on the 13th of August, 1521, Cortés, advancing "across the black and blasted environs "which lay around the Indian capital," ordered a final onslaught upon the miserable remnants of the Mexicans: "huddled together "in the utmost confusion, all ages and sexes, in masses so dense "that they nearly forced one another over the brink of the cause-"ways into the water below. Some had climbed on the terraces, "others feebly supported themselves against the walls of the "buildings. Their squalid and tattered garments gave a wildness "to their appearance, which still further heightened the ferocity of "their expression, as they glared on their foes with eyes in which "hate was mingled with despair."[213] Exposed to a destructive fire from all sides, the half famished crowd attempted a feeble resistance, then scattered, preferring flight to surrender. But they were speedily overtaken and the principal chiefs captured, thus leaving Mexico definitively in the hands of the Spaniards.

726 We have purposely dwelt at some length on the events of the
642 siege of the pueblo of Mexico. It is because they illustrate, better than any other page of their history, Indian *defensive* warfare, carried to its highest point of development. The Mexicans, during this memorable defence, achieved the most that any Indian tribe could achieve, up to the Sixteenth Century. Their resistance, in that respect, stands *unparalleled*. Besides, its very tenacity, the fortitude with which they bore, without yielding, the greatest sufferings, are a further evidence that what they did, was not out of fear of a crushing despotism ruling them with an

[212] Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. CLIV, p. 191, and CLV, p. 194). The Council opposed the advice of Quauhtemotzin, who was for surrender:—"poniendole por delante el fin de su tio el gran montezuma," p. 194.

[213] W. H. Prescott (Book VI, cap VIII, p. 200 and 201).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

settlement is not stated, but while some sources mention *twenty* chiefs as composing the original council of the tribe, others speak of but *ten leaders*. This might, according to the view taken, indicate in both instances *ten* kins, or *twenty* in the former and *ten* in the latter. At any rate the number is larger than that originally composing the tribe, thus showing that the segmentation so characteristic of tribal society according to Mr. Morgan, had already begun. Of the government of the tribe Clavigero says: "The whole nation was under a senate or college of the most prominent men."[48] No mention is made anywhere of a head-war-chief

[48] *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 190). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 94. Lib. III, cap. XXII. pp. 288, 290, and 291). *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 47).

It is difficult to ascertain the actual number of kins composing the Mexican tribe at at that time. The number of chiefs and their names are variously stated. *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 47), mentions six chiefs and four priests. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 140), mentions ten chiefs. The "*Codex Mendoza*" also says ten chiefs (Tab. I, Vol. I, Kingsborough). *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p, 190. note r). mentions twenty. It is interesting to compare the names, also those of the twenty leaders of *Torquemada* (Lib II, cap, III, p. 85), with those of the twenty "barrios" of Vetancurt.

Durán.	*Mendieta.*	*Torquemada.*	*Clavigero.*	*"Barrios" of Vetancurt.*
Acacitli,	*Acacitli,*	*Acacitli,*	*Acacitli,*	Tzapotla,
Tenoch,	*Tenuch.*	*Tenoca,*	*Tenoch,*	Huehuecalco,
Meci,	Tecineutl,	*Nanacatzin,*	*Nanacatzin,*	Tecpancaltitlan,
Ahuexotl,	*Auexotl.*	*Ahuexotl,*	*Ahuexotl,*	Cihuateocaltitlan,
Ocelopan,	*Ocelopan.*	*Ocelopan.*	*Ocelopan,*	Yopico,
Tezcacatetl,	Quahpan,	*Tezcacatl,*	*Tezcacil,*	Teocaltitlan,
Quauhtloquetzqui,	*Xomimitl,*	*Xomimitl,*	*Xomimiti,*	Tlaxilpan,
Cocoal,	Xocoyal.	*Quentzin,*	*Quentzin,*	Tequicaltitlan,
Chachalaiti,	*Yiuhcaqui.*	*Yiuhcac,*	*Yiuhcac,*	Atlampa,
Axolotea.	Atototi.	*Axolohua,*	*Axolohua,*	Tlacacomoco,
		Tlalala,	Tlalala.	Amanalco,
		Tzontliyayauh,	Tzontligagauti,	Tepetitlan,
		Tuzpan,	Tochpan,	Atizapan,
		Tetepan,	Tetepan,	Xihuitengo,
		Cozca,	Cozcatl,	Tequixquipan,
		Ahatl,	Atzin.	Mecaltitlan,
		Achitomecatl,	Achitomecatl,	Xoloco,
		Acohuatl,	Acohatl,	Chichimecapan,
		Mimich,	Mimich,	Copolco,
		Texca.	*Texcotl.*	*Texcatzonco.*

I have italicized such names as are alike. We see that of the ten chiefs named by Durán and Mendieta, six are also named by the two other authorities. As might be expected, there is hardly any concordance between these names of chiefs and those of the Mexican "barrios."

If it were known to us whether, in this case, each "chief" represented a kin only, or whether Durán, Tezozomoc, and Mendieta alone indicated the true number, we could or might, of course, determine the number of the calpulli. That the chief is used to denote his kinship in the old authors is distinctly stated by *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, p. 234). This chapter relates the mission of sixty "wizards" ("brujos"-"hechiceros,") sent by the chief "Montezuma Ilhuicamina" (the first "stern or wrathy chief" of that name), to an old woman or goddess purported to be "Huitzilopochtli's" mother. Arrived before the old hag (as she is described), she inquires of them for her son and for